

VOLUME 7.

NUMBER 12.

PRICE 1/-

Christian Order

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CHRISTIAN ORDER is a monthly magazine devoted to the promulgation of Catholic Social Teaching and incisive comment on current affairs. It is published for Father Paul Crane, S.J., 65 Belgrave Road, London SW1, by C. J. Fallon (London) Ltd., 1 Farnival St., London EC4 and 31 King St., Belfast 1, and printed in the Republic of Ireland by The Record Press Ltd., Emmet Road, Bray.

Annual subscription: one year, fifteen shillings; in the U.S.A. and Canada three dollars; in Australia twenty-one shillings; postage paid.

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Those who previously bought Christian Order each month at their church door or elsewhere are advised that the magazine is obtainable by subscription only. The rate is 15/- per annum. Send your subscription please to:

C. J. Fallon Ltd.,
43 Parkgate Street,
Dublin 8, Ireland.

Christian Order

EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

VOLUME 7.

DECEMBER, 1966

NUMBER 12.

Help Again Please!

THE EDITOR

I HAVE been very gratified at the kind things readers have been saying about *Christian Order* during past months. An editor comes in always for a good many kicks. They should not make him resentful: the kicks go with the job. He learns to expect them and to take them when they come with a smile. All the same, it is extremely pleasant to find oneself subject to the reverse experience: to open a letter in which a reader thanks you for everything and tells you with obvious sincerity how much the magazine means to him or her. I have had a fair number of such letters during past months. My gratitude to their writers is great. They have given me much encouragement. So have all those readers who have renewed their subscriptions so faithfully each year.

As usual, in this December editorial, I am writing to ask readers to be good enough to make a special point of renewing their subscriptions once again, particularly during the next four months when most fall due. Not so long ago, I circularised readers of *Christian Order*, who had failed to renew their subscriptions during past years. There were not very many of them, but a lot renewed. This was a great help and, again, most encouraging. What interested me, though, was the large number who apologised for forgetting to renew their subscriptions. I thought it

was extremely nice of them to take their subscriptions up again; but some of them, really, were most concerned that they had put me to what they called the trouble of writing to remind them. Reminders are, in fact, sent in good time to all subscribers; but it is easy to put them aside and then forget all about them. What I would ask readers to do, as a first way of helping *Christian Order*, is to renew their subscriptions, please, as soon as reminders come in.

Secondly, there is the matter of a gift subscription for a friend at Christmas time. It always brings in a few subscribers, but it could bring in very many more. It could be an invaluable and cheap (a point to be considered when you run a review on a shoe-string) way of increasing circulation. It is worth remembering, perhaps, in this context, that, if everyone leaves to someone else something that should be done, then nothing is done by anyone. I think a lot of gift-subscriber schemes crash because of this. Do you think, this year please, you could all give the lie to that? Would each of you please give *Christian Order* to a friend? There is a form provided. All you have to do is to provide me with the form filled in and fifteen shillings. Your friend will be told of your gift. It would make all the difference in the world to me—if *all* of you did; and, if each does, all do.

Finally, I am going to make an offer. I believe in enterprise and initiative, in unleashing personal energy, as I said in "Current Comment" last month. As from the publication of this December (1966) number, the first subscriber to *Christian Order*, who sends in to me, by March 31st, 1967, the names, addresses and subscriptions of 100 new subscribers to *Christian Order* will receive the first and only prize of a free place on a pilgrimage from London to Lourdes and back—for himself or his nominee.

Subscriptions should be sent in as they are collected and be enclosed each time with a piece of paper headed "Lourdes, 1967" on which there is clearly written the name and address of the new subscriber and the old, who has roped him or her into the fold. Most careful records will be kept by the Editor at 65 Belgrave Road, London,

S.W.1, where all names of new subscribers and subscriptions (Great Britain 15s.; U.S.A. and Canada \$3.00) should be sent. I wonder who will be first. I hope someone will be. I will let you know as soon as I know myself.

Best wishes for Christmas and this coming year. Thank you again for so much help and encouragement during the past twelve months.

Inconsistencies of Believers

The world is not scandalised by anything so much as by the inconsistencies of believers, which it attributes to hypocrisy. But a great deal of 'inconsistency' and shortcoming is consistent with an entire absence of hypocrisy. The world having to do only with objects of the senses, discerns and believes a thing fully or not at all, and acts accordingly; and expects that Christians should do the same. But God and the truths of faith are 'infinitely visible and infinitely credible'; and discernment and belief vary infinitely in degree, from the obscure longing which cries, 'O God, if Thou be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul', to that of the Saint who sees God, as it were, face to face; and as faith thus varies, so varies the life which comes of it." — From *The Rod, The Root, and the Flower*, Coventry Patmore.

Norway presents many problems to the Catholic Church. It is a large country difficult to traverse in winter, occupied by a people in comfortable circumstances who are not much interested in the spiritual world, and are quite unaware of what the Church has to offer.

Norway

PHILIP CARAMAN, S.J.

FEW Englishmen have any realisation of the vastness of Norway. Within ten miles Oslo, the capital, is as far from the extreme north of the country as it is from Rome. The distance is 2,433 km. This explains the curious phenomenon that there are three Bishops in the country for a Catholic population that numbers barely 8,000. The ecclesiastical division was made by a Roman visitor in winter time. The difficulties of travel were something outside his experience. At the moment of writing I am making the journey myself from south to north by car. A short distance south of Bodo, the first town of any size within the Arctic circle, I found that three hundred metres of precipitous road had been swept away by floods. The same length of railway track had disappeared in a landslide. I had to drive down to the coast and ship the car up to Bodo. In winter, of course, the roads over the mountains are closed. Consequently today there is the vicariate of northern Norway, with the Bishop's see at Tromsø, another vicariate for central Norway at Trondheim, and the diocese of Oslo. In each of the two northern vicariates there are about six hundred Catholics. The Oslo diocese, which includes Bergen, accounts for the remainder.

Two Facts

Is a country like this worth bothering about from the Catholic point of view? A large number of priests is necessarily expended on a diminutive flock. But there are

two striking facts that anyone answering the question must bear in mind. Since 1945 the Catholic population of the country has doubled. Secondly, and surprisingly, Norway produces more priests per thousand Catholics than perhaps any other country. Scarcely half of the 8,000 Catholics are natives. Yet there are today eighteen native Norwegian priests. Since the war all hostility to the Catholic Church has vanished, except in some valleys in the west of the country. The Church enjoys great prestige, out of all proportion to its numerical strength. It is becoming part of the Norwegian scene. If a Catholic priest is a rarity, he is no longer an object of curiosity. Everyone acknowledges that before the Reformation the Church in Norway was Catholic. A Lutheran pastor showing a visitor over his old church will say simply that it dates from Catholic times. It is taken for granted that on certain occasions the King or, in his absence, the Crown Prince will attend a service in the Catholic cathedral in Oslo. King Olav was there for the Requiem offered for President Kennedy, Prince Harald for the Requiem for the late Dowager Queen of the Belgians. Last summer, during the State visit of the King and Queen of the Belgians, Mass was celebrated every day in the palace, except on the Sunday, when the royal couple attended Mass with the Catholics of Oslo. There was no surprise or murmuring.

Why Progress is Slow

There are many Lutherans who have more regard for the Catholic Church than for their own. I can speak only with knowledge of Oslo, but I would reckon that perhaps a third of the congregation at every Mass there is made up of non-Catholics. When open lectures are given to all comers, the percentage of non-Catholics in the audience is perhaps two-thirds.

Why, then, is progress so slow? It is a question every priest asks when in the country parishes he turns on Sundays to preach to his small flock, and it always is small, particularly in winter when the snow makes more than an occasional visit to Church impossible for the people living in outlying valleys. The answer, I think, is, partly, the

general indifference of the people to religion. Partly, also, the blend of independence and conventionalism that would seem a national characteristic.

On Whitsunday afternoon I drove into Narvik. I was anxious to say Mass on Monday in the chapel built in the war cemetery on the edge of the town. There is buried there a young French Lieutenant of the Chasseurs Alpines, who fought the rearguard action when the British troops retreated on to Narvik at the conclusion of the Norwegian campaign in 1940. The Lieutenant was a Jesuit priest, Père de la Baume, and I had promised his father that I would say Mass for his soul in the town where he lay buried. At the hotel I was told that the chapel would be closed to-morrow. "Why", I asked. "To-morrow is a holiday. It's Palm Sunday to-day". "What", I said. "Palm Sunday. You mean, Whitsunday". "Well it does not matter at all", was the reply, "as long it is a holiday to-morrow." I realised then why, unlike in England, the churches are more than usually empty at Easter. It is the holiday season and families are in the mountains skiing at that time. Ski-ing comes always before the service of God.

Unfair to their Ministers

What has religion to give them? That is their approach to it. They are unfair, I would say, when they pass judgment on their own Ministers. It is true that they are paid and pensioned by the State. That, like civil servants, they come under a state department, that their home and living are provided for, but on the whole they are a hard-working, zealous body of men. Their main difficulties are the same as those confronting the Catholic priest. About ten days ago on the west coast I was visiting one of the most remarkable men in Norwegian history living today. He was an explorer in the Amundsen tradition. The Lutheran pastor of the area joined us. Later he piloted me on to my road leading north. Before we parted I asked him, "Is Consul Leid a practicing member of your flock?" "No," he answered, "he has developed his own philosophy". I thought of the elderly lady I once visited in Christiansand.

She spoke to me much about the Popes and about Rome. She said that the only thing that prevented her being a Catholic was that she could not accept the Trinity.

There have been many Norwegian poets, playwrights, musicians and artists, but, as far as I know, Norway has never produced a philosopher.

State Welfare and Hatred of Regimentation

Until last October there had been a Socialist Government in Norway for thirty years. When the State provides all services, an alarming mentality can result. People ask not so much what they can give, but what they can get. Freedom, sex, the mountains and fjords belong to these people by right as do free schooling, hospital services and pensions. What can they get from religion, is the question they ask. If the answer is not obvious, they tend to have no use for it. The Catholic Church has something to give them. Many of them can see this, and it explains their interest in the Church. Why, then, don't all those who are non-Catholics but attend Mass, enter the Church? The problem is an interesting one. The answer, perhaps, is that the Norwegian is an independent creature—you have only to observe him on parade to see how un-Germanic he is. Even the guards on duty outside the palace will smile at their friends or stroke children under the chin. The Norwegian hates to be regimented in any way. Membership of the Church has obligations he would rather not undertake. By remaining a friendly outsider he believes he gets the best of both worlds. After meeting persons at all levels of society (speaking of society in so far as you can in a highly socialised state) I believe this to be true.

A Conventional People

Also I think the Norwegian is more conventional than he may at first appear or is prepared to admit. He skis when all others ski, he wears the same clothes as others, his house is always furnished in the same way. Even if it means very little he must belong also to the same religion as others. Moreover, he lays down certain patterns of behaviour for others. Everywhere I have been there

has been astonishment to find an Englishman, a Catholic, and a priest, who moreover talks their language. Englishmen don't speak Norwegian.

It is fortunate that the great days of Norway coincided with the Catholic days. This is admitted, but the truth needs to infiltrate down to the ordinary people. It is also admitted that the Reformation was put across by stealth and deceit. Indeed until the middle of the last century there were peasants in more remote valleys who still said the Rosary and still believed that the Pope was head of the Church. Already it is being acknowledged that the Catholic Church is not a foreign body. However, it still has to show the Norwegian what it has to offer.

Man's Will to be Right

"It is quite conceivable (a subject for comedy) that a man who alone, among many, correctly foretold a disaster, in which he himself is involved, should get pleasure from his suffering because he was right, because he *knew* it. It is curious how universal man's will to be right is, to have been right. How does it arise? Perhaps it implies that he values knowledge, *simply as knowledge*, a fact which does not otherwise come to light among men." — Theodor Haecker from *Journal in the Night*.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

What is urgent is that the idea of the Church as a supernatural insurance society run by clerical managers should give way to a better understanding that membership of the people of God implies the right and duty of taking a full part in the Church's activity.

Strike — or Lock-out ?

VINCENT ROCHFORD

WHEN the local community assembles for a Sunday's eucharistic celebration, it is a microcosm of the whole Church. It is the Church in miniature, and since the whole celebration is sacramental, this ought to be manifest. The different functions one sees being carried out by different persons—celebrant, commentator, lector, people—make clear the varying functions carried out within the whole body of Christ by its members. Yet all are engaged upon one common action, a common meal which is the source of their unity. Thus the diversity as well as the unity of the Church find their expression. This being so, it is not unexpected that changes in the mentality of God's People should show themselves in the manner in which they celebrate Mass.

After the first three centuries when Mass was necessarily celebrated at a table in a private room by a small group of faithful, the Church won toleration and even became part of the social Establishment. At any rate this meant that she was free to express her worship in more dignified and ample style. From Masses in secret, she now possessed the majesty of the Roman basilicas.

The celebration opened with a procession making its way down the centre of the church towards the sanctuary area, singing an entrance hymn or "introit" as they did so. The bishop would preside from his chair in the apse,

the altar being on a somewhat lower level, and, of course, facing the people. The epistle would be sung by a sub-deacon, the gospel, with great ceremony, by a deacon. Meditative psalms would be sung by the whole assembly, assisted by a choir of men. The bishop himself would sing the collect-prayer, or prayer of the assembly. And so throughout its course, various individuals or groups contributed their actions to the whole celebration.

People's Part Diminished

So the Mass was celebrated for some hundreds of years. But development of the Church brought its problems. In villages where there was a lack of sacred ministers, the local priest found himself constrained to carry out what had hitherto been done by deacon, sub-deacon, lectors and choir. Only priest and people now had their shares left, there was a hiatus between them.

Missionary effort brought faith and sacraments to Franks and the Germanic peoples, who did not understand Latin. But their missionaries continued to celebrate in their own tongue, and this meant that the people lost their share and had nothing to contribute. Mass became a one-man ceremony, with a small boy to speak in the name of all God's People! And this became universal, a crowd of folk watching the lonely priest turned towards the wall. This was the Mass we were used to, the priest busy with his ritual, the people unable to hear or see anything significant, allowed to say nothing and to do nothing. The churches were built to provide for this very thing, for were they not essentially theatres, with a stage for the solitary actor and an auditorium for the spectators? These were condemned to passivity, even to apathy or to some individual devotion perhaps totally unrelated to the sacred action that was proceeding at the altar. How far such an evolution represented a strike by the laity or a lock-out by the clerics, is anyone's guess!

The Vatican Council has made a bold beginning to restore our most sacred act of worship to its true nature. "Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that full, conscious and active participation in liturgical

celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of liturgy." This spells the end—when people finally accept it—to merely watching Mass. And the end of the clerical monopoly is contained in another directive: "Each person, minister or layman, who has an office to perform, should do all of, but only, those parts which appertain to his office by the nature of the rite and the principles of liturgy". Naturally this reform cannot come quickly. Changes in behaviour must proceed from changed attitudes, and conservatism is deeply ingrained in matters religious.

Mass and Parish

But what happened in the Mass was a reflection of what happened outside the church, in the parish itself. For here, obviously, the parish buildings belong to the whole local community. The church is for them, the school for their children, the parochial house for their priests. That being so, one would expect that the community would make itself responsible for the upkeep of those buildings, for the collection—and spending—of such funds as may be needed. In fact, all this has been reserved to the clergy, in spite of their total lack of training in all those fields. The priest must get in whatever money is needed by any means he can employ; it is he who must think up football pools or bingo, fill up forms for ministry, council, diocese, insurance company, even keep accounts (to be sure, if income and expenditure columns agree, it must be a fiddle): all of these are tasks that could be carried out by the members of the parish, and ought to be, and indeed more efficiently than they are by the priest; and just because of this dispersal of his attention, he has less opportunity to devote himself to the tasks he is presumably ordained to carry out. So we find in the parish the exact situation we observed in the Mass: it is a one-man band. Again, the result of a strike by the laity or lock-out by the clergy? . . . and World.

But the concentration of everything in the hands of the clergy did not stop in the parish. It extended to the whole mission of the Church. It was the business of the clergy to run the Church; layfolk were at the receiving end, almost

requesting handy ready-made solutions to all their problems, neither encouraged nor wishing to assume much personal responsibility. The general apostolate of the Church to the world was not seen as the business of the layman who lives in the world, but that of the "professional", the priest. Of course there were magnificent exceptions: one deals in generalities here. But in the main it is true to say that the average Catholic man or woman had no conception that they were called by baptism and confirmation to influence their surroundings and prepare the way for Christian ideas and values there. Here again what happened at Mass extended itself to the whole apostolate of the world-wide Church. Strike by the layfolk or lock-out by the clerics?

Role of the Laity

Already Pius XI had called every member of the Church to the apostolate, and had specified that the first and chief apostle of the workers must be workers themselves. The Vatican Council, having first called to the layfolk to exercise their right and fulfil their duty in worship by participating actively in celebrating the eucharist, goes on in its great document on the Church to apply the same principle to their role in society. "The lay apostolate is a participation in the saving mission of the Church itself. Through their baptism and confirmation, all are commissioned to that apostolate by the Lord Himself. Moreover, through the sacraments, especially the Holy Eucharist, there is communicated and nourished that charity toward God and man which is the soul of the entire apostolate. Now, the laity are called in a special way to make the Church present and operative in those places and circumstances where only through them can she become the salt of the earth. Thus every laymen, by virtue of the very gifts bestowed upon him, is at the same time a witness and a living instrument of the mission of the Church herself, 'according to the measure of Christ's bestowed'" (*Lumen Gentium* 33).

It is perhaps fruitless to speculate on the causes of the historical situation we have inherited. What is urgent is that the idea of the Church as a supernatural insurance society, run by clerical managers whose activities enable each

individual to save his own little soul, should give way to a better understanding, that membership of the people of God, immersed in the contingencies of history, carrying Christ with it and rendering him present in the world, implies the right and duty of taking a full part in the Church's activity, whether in bringing society to him or in the summit of that activity, which is the liturgy. When each local Christian community shoulders its responsibilities, with its priest at the heart of it, animating it and forming it for its task, then the Church will be healthy, will have influence where human lives are lived and men meet together. History's legacy will be transcended and Vatican II vindicated.

Words of Wisdom

"Old people often say and write things which they look upon as wisdom and profound teaching, while others, not indeed always the hearers, but the readers, speak of commonplaces, banalities or even twaddle. Very often both are right in their way. The 'words of wisdom' of old people may be banal in themselves, but they are wise because of the depths of feeling and *memoria* from which they spring, and because they themselves are wise. But they are easier to see or to hear than to read."—Theodor Haecker from *Journal in the Night*.

CURRENT COMMENT

In a book published earlier this Autumn, Professor Saul Friedlander of the Graduate Institute of Studies at Geneva, presents certain German documents, which, in his opinion throw light on the reaction of Pius XII to the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Jews. In the first of two articles, Father Crane gives grounds for his belief that Professor Friedlander's book is, in fact, what an American Jesuit colleague has described it to be; "not history, but a very low level of political mythology."

Pius XII and the Nazis: 1

THE EDITOR

IT is a pity that the general public of the Western World should have learnt for the first time of the problems supposed to surround the attitude of Pius XII to Hitler's frightful killing of the Jews through the publication of Hochhuth's disreputable play, *The Representative*. It is an added misfortune that a more recent work purporting to embody serious scholarship, should reveal bias against the Pope to the point where it has been classified by a serious student of Vatican Affairs as "not history but a very low level of political mythology"(¹). Reference is to Professor Saul Friedlander's recently published documentation entitled *Pius XII and the Third Reich*.

"Silence" of Pius XII

In his book, the author endeavours to show that what he thinks of as the "silence" of Pope Pius XII in the face of Nazi frightfulness, particularly against the Jewish people, was motivated by fear that, if he were to raise his

(¹) "The Latest Charges against Pius XII" by Father Robert A. Graham, S.J. in *America* for May 21st, 1966.

voice in specific and uncompromising protest, Hitler's Reich would be weakened in its struggle against Bolshevism. This appears to be Friedlander's thesis. To what extent can it be said to be true?

By way of preliminary, it should be noticed that, until the Vatican records are published in full and closely compared with the relevant material already published elsewhere, no true picture of the Pope's attitude can be had. This, Professor Friedlander is good enough to acknowledge in his Foreword: "However, let me say again that the documents quoted are reports sent by the German ambassadors at the Holy See, or other German diplomatic documents, the truthfulness of which could be checked only if compared with the corresponding documents from the Vatican archives".

A Rhetorical Question

In view of this clear statement, it is somewhat startling to find that Professor Friedlander should ask in the concluding pages of his book: "How is it conceivable that at the end of 1943 the Pope and the highest dignitaries of the Church were still wishing for victorious resistance by the Nazis in the East and therefore seemingly accepted by implication the maintenance, however temporary, of the entire Nazi extermination machine"?⁽²⁾. The implication here is perfectly clear, yet there is no justification for it, not only because, as Friedlander notes in his Foreword, the relevant Vatican documents have not yet been published, but also because, as the author admits in an earlier passage on page 147, with regard to his own selection of available German documents: "No document known at present enables us to establish a definite link between the reserve maintained by the Holy See on the extermination of the Jews in late 1942 and in 1943, the evolution of the anti-religious policy of the Germans and the international situation during the same period".

In other words, after examining ninety pages of German documents—selected from those available and from which he himself says no proof can be drawn that Pius XII's

(2) Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p.237.

silence in the face of atrocity was due to a desire not to weaken Germany against Bolshevism — Professor Friedlander concludes his book with a rhetorical question, which implies that this was in fact the case. Whatever this is, it is not history. Father Graham has described it justly as “argument by insinuation” and, as such “unworthy of a serious scholar”⁽³⁾. In an earlier passage of his *America* article, which was extremely critical of Friedlander’s book, Father Graham wrote with specific reference to the manifest implication contained in the rhetorical question on page 237, which I have quoted above: “No document presented in the book or known to myself provides any substantiation for what is implied by this rhetorical question. While the book is allegedly a ‘documentation’ that speaks for itself, the author’s own interpretations—or rather, misinterpretations—make up the bulk of the argument”.

Suiting Facts to Theory

Neither is Father Graham alone in his indignation with regard to the manifest implication contained in the concluding rhetorical question posed by Professor Friedlander in the concluding pages of his book. In a singularly kind review of the American edition of the book, an eminent American church historian, Father Francis X. Murphy, C.S.S.R., wrote in the *Dublin Review*⁽⁴⁾ with regard to the offending question: “This is simply outrageously untrue. It is, however, an assertion that seems to betray the underlying bias of the book”. Father Murphy proceeds at once to quote a comment of Albert Grosser, who wrote a Postscript to the American edition of Friedlander’s book: ‘Before concluding and judging, one should put oneself finally on guard, and not cede to the temptation — which Saul Friedlander does indeed, despite his probity—to rationalise too clearly the ideas, the desire, and the comportment of a man and an institution’. Put quite crudely this means that Friedlander has suited his facts to his theory. This is something no serious historian should ever do. It is for this reason that Father Graham, in the *America* article

⁽³⁾ *op. cit.*

⁽⁴⁾ Spring, 1965, pp. 73-74.

from which I have already quoted, says of Friedlander's book that it is "not history but a very low level of political mythology". The indictment is damning. It appears, I am afraid, to be well merited. What a pity, under the circumstances, that it should have received such publicity on Radio and TV.

"Proof" by Omission

Professor Friedlander seeks to prove his case against Pius XII not merely through the process of interpreting documents selected by himself in a manner suited to his prejudices. At times, he is guilty through carelessness or deliberate omission—I would not like to say which—of depriving a papal statement (offensive to the Nazi regime and, therefore, contrary to his main thesis) of its full significance through the omission of circumstantial facts essential to an understanding of its cogency. Two examples can be cited. On page 66 of his book, Professor Friedlander cites a despatch to his Government on March 24th, 1941, of the German Ambassador to the Vatican, Bergen. In it, the Ambassador refers to the decision of the Holy Office of December 2nd, 1940, to the effect that it is not permitted "by order of the government to kill persons who are judged to be a burden to the congregation and a hindrance to its strength and power". The decision was prompted, as the Ambassador realises quite clearly, by the growth of the dreadful practice in Nazi Germany. In a footnote, on the same page, Friedlander states that the Decree was neither published in *L'Osservatore Romano* nor broadcast on Vatican Radio, thereby strengthening his thesis that Pius XII had no wish to offend the Nazis by confronting them with their misdeeds. In fact, according to Father Graham in his *America* article, the Decree was published in *L'Osservatore Romano* on the day of its issue and the Vatican Radio did comment on it on the same day.

Again, the author refers, on page 143 of his book, to the address of the Pope to the Cardinals on June 2nd, 1943, in which he spoke of "the anxious entreaties of all those who, because of their nationality or their race, are being subject to overwhelming trials and sometimes, through no

fault of their own, are doomed to extermination . . .". In his book, Friedlander calls the address "secret". It was no such thing. It was published in *L'Osservatore Romano* on the same day. Why does Professor Friedlander not say so? Instead, he calls the address "secret", thereby lending credence to his view that the Pope refrained from public protest against Nazi atrocities for fear of weakening Germany in its struggle against Bolshevism. Yet here, in his address to the Sacred College, is a clear reference to the extermination of the Jews. Taking Friedlander's book at its face value, you would think that the papal address to the Sacred College was relatively worthless because not published. In fact, it was published. Why, in this case and that cited in the previous paragraph, is this vital qualifying information not given? In comment on these two incidents Father Graham has this to say in his *America* article: "Now, it is not far even by foot from the Institute in Geneva to the Rockefeller-endowed United Nations Library. Is it expecting too much of a scholar that he first check the basic facts on which he bases somewhat serious conclusions"? Father Graham is entitled to ask this question. He himself spent months in Geneva studying the documents relevant to his book on *Vatican Diplomacy*, which was published not long ago. Professor Friedlander lives in Geneva and works there, where he is now an Associate Professor of Contemporary History at its Graduate Institute of International Studies.

And why, incidentally, is there no mention in Friedlander's book of the Vatican Radio Broadcast to the French people in June, 1943? There it is plainly stated that "he who makes a distinction between Jews and other men is unfaithful to God and is in conflict with God's commands"⁽⁵⁾. How seriously can an historian ask to be taken when he appears to adopt the position of omitting material harmful to the thesis he is trying to prove?

"Proof" by Addition

Professor Friedlander is not content to win support for

⁽⁵⁾ Cited in an article in our Australian contemporary, *Social Survey*, for May, 1964 and entitled *Pius XII on Trial*; p. 103.

his case only through omissions of the type just described. He goes further. On two occasions, worthless documents are introduced in support of his thesis that the Pope's hope for a German victory over Bolshevism made him silent in face of the appalling sufferings inflicted by the Nazis on their victims. Father Graham cites two examples in his *America* article. It is best to let him tell the story in his own words:

"The captured files of the *Auswartiges Amt* or German Foreign Ministry consist of a mass of material of heterogeneous character and value. Our author has combed it all in search of material to substantiate his 'hypotheses'. Some of the gossipy trash he found he publishes here, including Gestapo reports. The liberality with which he uses and credits this disparate material is surprising. But his use of a clearly invented story of an exchange between the Pope and Harold H. Tittmann, the U.S. charge d'affaires, passes all limits. In this report (pp. 74 ff) an anonymous German agent portrays Mr. Tittmann as chiding the Pope because he had not reciprocated the generous financial help given the Church by President Roosevelt through the White House special contingency fund. The Pope, on his part, is pictured as meekly explaining that with the help of this money he had been able to set up a wide variety of confidential informants in a large number of countries.

"There is no mistaking why this report was inserted, for the same agent in Rome also states (in the same report) that the Pope told Tittman that war between Germany and Russia was imminent and that 'the Vatican would do everything to hasten the outbreak of that war, even to the point of encouraging Hitler with a promise of moral support'. In a hit-and-run technique, our author hastens to observe: 'Needless to say, this report must be read with the greatest circumspection'. Does he really think this kind of disclaimer entitles him to publish—and in the main text, at that—any scrap, however suspect, that happens to fit his scheme of things"?

The Phantom Concert

That is the first example. The reader is left to judge

for himself. The second concerns what I call the phantom concert "given" by the Berlin Opera Company in Rome. Over, once again, to Father Graham:

"Unfortunately, the American edition of this work is born under the sign of a lie. At the top of the blurb it is related that the author had accidentally found a despatch from the German embassy to the Vatican (sic) stating that Pius XII had requested a special concert performance by the Berlin Opera Company in Rome. This was in March, 1941. It was the moment, says the blurb, echoing our author, when Nazi atrocities at home and in Poland were becoming widely known. The anecdote ends at that point. Who is to know from this that, in the first place, the Pope did not ask for the concert and that, in the second place, it never occurred?

"An article by Angelo Martini, S.J., in the March 20th, 1965, *Civiltà Cattolica*, brought out the facts about this phantom performance, which involved an over-zealous and unauthorised private musician who acted on his own and even misrepresented the Pope's mind. The testy clarifications immediately made by the Pope suggest how displeased he was by the liberties taken in his name. This story is now carried in the English edition (pp. 67-70) but only as 'additional details'. You would never guess, without reading between the lines, that the author is taking back what he had rashly exploited in his earlier editions. Once again he had been betrayed by his overreadiness to accept at face value what he wanted to believe. The Berlin opera story was just too good to risk its being spoiled by checking."

Shaky Foundations

Space forbids further comment on Professor Friedlander's so-called documentation. Moreover, I do not see it as necessary. It is not merely that he has no case against Pius XII. If the present volume is typical, he has little claim, I would suggest, to consideration as a serious historian. His book, of course, will be read and, unfortunately, believed by the unwary. They will not detect its grave mishandling, even of the available evidence. Were they to do so, they would

arrive at the conclusion which is mine after reading through the book and studying such commentaries and reviews as were immediately available. It is that Friedlander's book does the very opposite of what it was intended to do. One argues this way: Here is a man so eager to prove his case against Pius XII—to show him as wishing for a Nazi victory over Bolshevism to the extent of imposing silence on himself in the face of Nazi atrocity—that he is prepared to substitute insinuation for argument, to suppress relevant facts and to insert worthless documents into his text in a vain endeavour to do so.

One concludes, as a result, that if these methods have to be used to "prove" a case against a great man, then the likelihood is that the case itself must rest on extraordinarily shaky foundations. In fact, there can, under the circumstances, be no case at all, as Professor Friedlander, in his heart of hearts, most probably realises.

Testimony of Paul VI

These notes are best concluded with some words spoken by Pope Paul VI, standing at the gate of Jerusalem, during his historic pilgrimage to the Holy Land in January, 1964. It should be remembered that, right through the war, as Msgr. Montini, and pro-Secretary of State, he was very close to Pope Pius XII. He knew the Holy Father as few did. This is what he said: "We nourish only thoughts of goodwill towards all men, and towards all peoples. The Church, indeed, loves them all equally. Our great predecessor, Pius XII, emphasised this forcefully and on various occasions, at the height of the last world conflict; and everyone knows what he did for the defence and rescue of all those who were in distress, without any distinction; nevertheless you know that suspicions and even accusations have been levelled against the memory of this great Pontiff. We are happy to have the opportunity to affirm, on this day and in this place, that there is nothing more unjust than this slight against so venerable a memory. Those who, like Ourselves, knew this admirable man intimately, know how far his sensibility could go, his compassion for human suffering, his courage, his delicacy of heart".

The sharing out of the communal bread (property and money) so that the rich do not become richer and the poor do not lose the little they have, as well as the connection between affluence, boredom, and loss of religious faith are briefly glanced at in this article.

Bread and Life

E. L. WAY

THERE are several political prescriptions for the attainment of Utopia, or for hell or earth, which every now and again are worth examination. Though time may have rendered their techniques and their details obsolete yet their outlines and principles still stand firm. A curious thing is that men like Rousseau and Dostoevsky, who made outstanding muddles of their lives, were yet able to produce clear and methodical versions of states that should or might exist in the future.

Dostoevsky

Dostoevsky's prescription for hell is the programme put forward by Shigalov in *The Possessed*. The perfect society must be run by a small isolated group for the material beatitude of the millions. The only price the nation has to pay is the loss of its soul. To put it briefly and brutally: a full belly promptly suffocates the spirit. Dostoevsky, were he alive today, would not be appalled by the suppression of civil and legal rights in the Soviet Union. He did not care a fig for such things. But he would be appalled at the deprivation of soul which, he would contend, has transformed the Russian masses into satisfied brutes. He saw what wealth could do to individuals and concluded that general affluence would lead to complete loss of religious faith. And so he carried on a life-long polemic against the "crystal palace", which symbolised for him the world of socialism, and the world of all those positivists

who believe in the reality of secular reform. In some ways Dostoevsky was the greatest secular prophet of the modern world. He could foresee where certain attitudes of thought would lead men in the future, and with the power of genius animated these skeletons of thought and their conclusions and produced the extraordinary human beings we find in his fiction.

Dark Side of the Moon

But judge for yourselves. He wrote: "Then we shall give them the quite humble happiness of weak creatures such as they are by nature . . . We shall show them that they are weak, that they are only pitiful children, but that childlike happiness is the sweetest of all . . . They will marvel at us . . . and will be proud of us being so powerful and clever, that we have been able to subdue such a turbulent flock of thousands of millions . . . Yes, we shall set them to work, but in their leisure hours we shall make their life like a child's game, with children's song and innocent dance . . . And they will have no secrets from us. We shall allow or forbid them to live with their wives or mistresses, to have or not have children—according to whether they have been obedient or disobedient—and they will submit to us gladly and cheerfully. The most powerful secrets of their conscience, all, all they will bring to us, and we shall have an answer for all. And they will be glad to believe our answer, for it will save them from the great anxiety and terrible agony they endure at present in making a free decision for themselves. And all will be happy . . . except the hundred thousand who rule over them." Here in *The Brothers Karamazov* published in 1880 we have predicted the horrors of our time: the utter subordination of private to public life, thought control, the mass performances at the Moscow Sports Palace and Nuremburg, the secret trials, the extorted public confessions, and the end of the agony and anxiety which is inevitable in the making of free decisions. We have also predicted for us the astonishing spread of Communism in the phrases "we have been able to subdue such a turbulent

flock of thousands of millions . . . Yes, we shall set them to work”.

Powerful Case

Dostoevsky makes out a powerful case, so much so that when you are reading him you are carried away on the swift current of his passionate logic. He argues that men are like children: weak, greedy, easily duped, and incapable of sharing out the communal bread, and so must hand it over to a group of leaders or a Caesar. And when they have done this they will find, for a time, that their material wants have been satisfied but that their spirits have also been stifled. Furthermore by some mysterious dispensation, they will later discover that they have sold their souls for a mess of pottage, and that the supply of pottage gradually dwindles. They have thus sacrificed their most precious possession, which is freedom, for goods which fail to materialise. (Do we not have the spectacle of wheat-producing Russia importing grain from Canada?). D. H. Lawrence in his brilliant yet wholly mistaken essay *The Grand Inquisitor* accepts the facts set out by Dostoevsky. He believed in an “elect”, a hierarchy of superior people who do not make the silly and vulgar error of mistaking bread (property, housing, sanitation, affluence) for life. Lawrence believed that this “elect” should “take charge of the bread—property and money and so on—and then give it back to the masses as if it were really the gift of life. In this way mankind might live happily . . . Otherwise, with the masses making the terrible mad mistake that money is life, and that therefore no one shall control the money, men shall be ‘free’ to get what they can, we are brought to a condition of competitive insanity and ultimate suicide”.

The Problem

But where are these “elect”, of whom Lawrence writes, to be found? They do not walk the corridors of power. Usually men who do not mistake abundance of possessions for life do not acquire many possessions and are very rarely to be found in the seats of power where the real

decisions are taken. So for the radical and the reformer (and today we are not, contrary to the popular saying, all socialists but rather radicals and reformers), the ultimate views of both Dostoevsky and Lawrence must be rejected. For all his prophetic insight, Dostoevsky would if followed, lead us back to his world of ragged beggars with festering sores, stunted miserable labouring children, fourteen-year-old girl prostitutes, and workmen plodding homeward on their drunken way. Lawrence's dream later developed, perhaps degenerated, into a fairy-tale world of festive Mexican peons in velvet blue jeans and red shirts all dancing under a brilliant sun. It is an anti-climax after the precision of his utterances on miracle, mystery, and authority. Where was the Lawrence who wrote "The rapture of the Easter kiss, in old Russia, is intimately bound up with the springing of the seed and the first footstep of the new earthly bread. It is the rapture of the Easter kiss which makes the bread worth eating. It is the absence of the Easter kiss which makes the Bolshevik bread barren, dead. They eat dead bread, now"?

The Alternatives

Dostoevsky's case rests upon a reasonable assumption: wealth corrupts most individuals, and therefore an affluent society must be bored and degraded. He even predicts in his *Memoirs From a Dark Cellar* (published in 1864) that when the Golden Age dawns it will be impossible to guarantee that men will not be bored to tears, and that bored people "are liable to get all sorts of ideas into their heads. Golden pins, too, are after all stuck into people out of boredom". Sadistic crime, the desire to smash everything up, to "send all these logarithms to the devil", and give the "future reign of universal common sense" a mighty kick all seem to increase and multiply as the Golden Age approaches.

The answer, perhaps, would be to ensure that no one became too wealthy. And as we have not got an affluent society, with thousands of clerks and "clerical officers" earning, after stoppages, £13 or £14 a week, not to mention thousands of others who do not earn even a living wage,

our problem is clearly not connected with general affluence. No; the world has rejected unemployment and grinding poverty. Dostoevsky's road to heaven along this route is barred.

Planning

And if this is so, planning of some kind must be the order of the day. Planning by demoniacs, or in Dostoevsky's phrase "the possessed", with fake elections, and one Party systems with only one set of candidates, and with uncontrolled power is abominated as a sure and tried route to a Bolshevik or Nazi hell. What then are we left with but planning as we know it in the western democracies? It may be imperfect, it may sometimes be so stupid as to be incomprehensible, its plans also will be deliberately disrupted by foreign usurers outside the control of the government, but it is all we have. Somehow or other we must prevent, in Mencken's phrase, "the rats from devouring the communal corn", and at the same time not kill incentive, not make a man hesitate to work for fear that what he will earn by extra effort will disappear into the coffers of the inland revenue. How this is to be done has either not been discovered or having been discovered is not put into practice. Bernard Shaw, perhaps in a fit of exasperation, once said that "If all the economists were laid end to end, they would not reach a conclusion".

One Certain Law

The one certain conclusion many economists, who write letters to the press, seem agreed upon is that in any national economic crisis the poor should be immediately robbed of the little they have. The widows and the old should have their pensions cut, the children should have their allowances reduced, school meals should be paid for at the real price, those least able to get new jobs should be sacked (and this barbarity is politely called "shake out"), the sick should pay for their prescriptions, and the toothless for their dentures, but under no circumstances must the rich be prevented from becoming richer. They are the high priests of the new god, gross national product, and must on

no account be asked to make sacrifices of their wealth. (Needless to say, from all such strictures on economists, our own resident economist, Dr. Jackson, is excluded. He is always a just and extremely fair-minded man.) To the non-economist it is a mad world. Must it continue ever to be so?

A Vacant Hour

"No man is much regarded by the rest of the world. He that considers how little he dwells upon the condition of others, will learn how little the attention of others is attracted by himself. While we see multitudes passing before us, of whom perhaps not one appears to deserve our notice or excite our sympathy, we should remember, that we likewise are lost in the same throng; that the eye which happens to glance upon us is turned in a moment on him that follows us, and that the utmost which we can reasonably hope or fear, is to fill a vacant hour with prattle, and be forgotten."—Dr. Johnson, *The Rambler* No. 159.

Self-determination, Self-destruction and Self-deception

THOUGHTS FOLLOWING AN AFRICAN JOURNEY

JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.A., M.P.

"**G**ROWING pains", that is what is sometimes said on hearing the latest exiguous news of religious persecution in the Sudan, or of tribal massacre and revenge in Nigeria upon which such hopes were set of prosperity and ordered progress. It has been estimated that in 6½ years 3 million Africans have been done to death by other Africans. Early this year Sékou Touré, the President of the Cuba-type Republic of Guinea, said that M. Kasavubu, then President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, had told him when they met at Accra, then still unredeemed from the Redeemer Nkrumah, "that more than a million and a half people had been killed in the Congo". The tragic score can scarcely be less, and it is not for Christians to shrug their shoulders. Yet, how many in Britain who have heard something, however garbled, of what happened at Sharpeville can remember what happened at Stanleyville? South Africa's racial policy and police methods are more harshly condemned than genocide in Burundi. Much of what is happening, and has happened, in recent years in decolonized Africa is concealed from the world at large or assessed by a double standard of moral judgement.

Commercial Obligations Only

Why? Is it because much of it is too horrible to photograph and report? This seems unlikely. Sadism is the stuff of our daily mass entertainment. One explanation

given is that those who misuse African nationalism for subversive purposes exercise influence in the media of mass information. Another, and perhaps more likely, reason is that our rulers and those who preceded them do not like to be reminded that premature de-colonization amounted in some territories to an abandonment of all obligations save those of commercial interest.

The business man who is a bird of passage can still do well even in African states threatened by chaos and Communism. The technician and adviser on a salary or a contract can still live well with clubs and servants. Unlike the colonial administrator or settler of the past or the dangerous present, he is not responsibly involved in the future welfare of land and people. The colonial administrator is extinct, his successor a temporary adviser or international technocrat. The settler is a hostage and potential scapegoat.

The excuse is given that sloppy and defeatist attitudes at home, and opinion abroad, were both too strong for the European powers to hold on, until cadres had been trained to run a state, and an African middle class had arisen to stabilize a society emerging from tribalism.

It is true, war-weary, indifferent and Leftist Europeans were sick of empire or opposed to it. Anti-colonialism was a doctrine common to Liberal America and Leninist Russia. Franklin D. Roosevelt believed that Churchill was an imperialist and that Stalin was not. The contrasting oceanic empires of Europe, not the expanding Communist empires of the Eurasian continent, were placed in the international pillory.

At U.N. they were caught in a Soviet-American cross-fire. The West acquiesced in Marxist definitions of imperialism, to its own undoing. Wise after the event, Western critics of Belgian colonial rule have blamed the Belgians because they failed to train enough Congolese to take over from them. They were in fact laying sound educational and economic foundations but received little sympathy or encouragement from the liberal world.

Prerequisites for Independence

The arts of independence cannot be taught. It is hard to judge when is the right moment for an administering or protecting power to transfer responsibility for a colonial or protected dependency. I sometimes think that a qualified Dominion status should have been conferred upon the then united Indian Empire after the first — not the second — World War. Mahatma Gandhi had been recruiting for the King-Emperor. Educated India confidently expected home rule in recompense for shining loyalty and wartime sacrifice.

Peoples as well as individuals learn how to rule themselves by doing it. Nevertheless, they need certain attainments before they can teach themselves. Lacking an economic base, and a unifying loyalty transcending the claims of the clan and tribe, many of the new African states have lacked the means to sustain political independence. Consequently, they have fallen into dependence upon foreign powers and international subsidies. The Communists and their fellow-travellers have taken full advantage of their weakness.

Portuguese Exception

The fatal abdication of the European nations in Africa could be more plausibly excused had not one of them, the Portuguese, and that not the strongest or richest, braced itself against the "wind of change" and remained upright. Many British have an outdated impression of the Iberian States. Many go there on holiday. Few mix with the inhabitants or learn their language. So they do not know that Spain in 1966 is not the Spain of 1588 or even of 1936. A great many more know even less of the Portuguese.

Just as some thought of the ex-Belgian Congo in terms of Sir Roger Casement's report about King Leopold's Congo Free State, and were encouraged by the Left thus to think so others have the most erroneous ideas of life in Portuguese Africa.

What they do not know is that the International Labour Organization refuted, by investigation on the spot, allegations of forced labour in Portuguese Africa and that

the U.N. World Health Organization commended Portugal's efforts in her Guinea province against leprosy and sleeping sickness as an "example to Africa".

They have not seen, as I have, the firmly governed but utterly non-racial society of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. The subversive movements against these provinces of Portugal are all sustained from outside. They have very slender local roots and are supported by one or two tribes only. These have been traditionally disaffected, partly because of past neglect by authorities with little money to spend on development. Portugal is not rich and has steadfastly declined U.S. aid. But she has met the challenge of terror and emergency in Africa with courage and reform. In Angola in 1961 the Portuguese had one locally recruited battalion. Terrorists from across the Congo border, crazed with drugs and witchcraft, gave themselves over to atrocities, that put Mau-Mau in the shade, against white and black Portuguese — as ever, it was the blacks who suffered worst.

In 1962 the distinction between Native and *assimilado* was abolished. All are now Portuguese citizens with equal rights and duties. Not that this pleases all the tribal Natives. They have lost the special protection of old-time paternalism and they must now pay taxes.

Equality of Races

Today culture, education and ability are the sole criteria for advancement. In churches, cinemas, clubs, schools and swimming pools all colours work, pray, and play side by side. Portuguese of all races are fighting side by side against terrorist subversion. I have met black and white, Portuguese Indians and men of mixed blood serving in the same units, feeding in the same messes and sleeping in the same quarters. Mr. Robert Kennedy would be better qualified to lecture on race relations (in San Francisco as well as South Africa!) if he went to the Portuguese overseas provinces, not to teach but to learn.

But is not Portugal morally bound to hearken to "world opinion", follow the example of her European allies, and in the elegant phrase of a Kenya politician "scram out of

Africa?" "World opinion" is too often the voice of world Communism. Moreover it is a fatal mistake to generalize about the problems of Africa — or any other continent. When the Latin Americans obtained independence of their Iberian parents, were Britain, France, and Holland wrong to remain in Honduras and Guyana and apply their own conceptions of responsibility? And what if the Brazilians, the exemplar of Luso-African integration, had elected to retain constitutional links with Portugal?

Where would Europe and the Americas now stand if Portugal had succumbed? Look at the map and hearken to Mao Tse-tung whose tricontinental strategy is to separate North America from Latin America and Europe from Africa: "Once Asia and Africa are separated from the capitalistic centres of Europe, the European continent will completely collapse economically".

It may be sour grapes as much as anything that causes otherwise intelligent Europeans to insist that Portugal should follow the lead of Belgium in her Congo, or of Britain in Zanzibar, now a Soviet, East German, and Red Chinese outpost within Tanzania and the Commonwealth — in short an African Cuba.

Disunity

Five hundred years make a difference. 'The skyscrapers of the teeming, industrializing capital of Luanda dwarf ancient churches but fail to quench the floodlit magnificence of the Fortress of S. Miguel. At Cambambe and Massangono I visualized the struggle of Dutch and Portuguese for the mastery of Angola. I reflected how different would have been the history of the world if the expansion of Europe had been effected in the unity of Christian states instead of in enmity and greed. Two World Wars have taught Europeans the lesson of their tragic disunity in the Mediterranean. They are slow to digest the lessons of their disunity in Africa.

In the Indian Ocean on Mozambique Island, a tropical paradise if there ever was one, the home of Indians, and Ismaili followers of the Aga Khan, as well as Africans and Europeans, St. Sebastian's fortress enshrines the oldest

Christian church in East Africa south of the Sahara. Another tiny church was where St. Francis Xavier celebrated Mass. Vasco da Gama, Magellan and Camoens, the national poet, passed this way.

When our ancestors were giving ground in France before the faith and fury of St. Joan, the Portuguese were on the African coast. In comparison the Afrikaners are parvenu. The Rhodesians are one generation from their Pioneers.

Unlike the Nationalists of South Africa, they have no binding philosophy of race relations. The Rhodesian Front embraces believers in inter-racial partnership and advocates of *apartheid*. Recently the revival of the Geyre plan for two Bantu states in Rhodesia was objectively reported in our press.

Gradualism or Domination

Experience will show whether a multi-racial state is feasible in Southern Africa, outside the Portuguese possessions, which may well evolve rather like Brazil but with closer links with Europe. What is clear is that precipitate majority rule means black supremacy and that the premature adoption of an unqualified "one man one vote" franchise ushers in the rule of one party if not one man. The alternative to gradualism is the domination of one race or separate development.

South African "separate development" is more unacceptable in practice than in theory. It may be justified on two conditions. Neither has yet been fulfilled. The first is a clear intention that unless and until they opt for independence outside the Republic of South Africa the Bantu and any other ethnic states must be represented in the organs of government that formulate and execute policy for all South Africa. The second condition is that the fundamental human rights of all South Africans are respected where the races are mixed.

What however cannot be condemned outright is that outlet should be given to those who, according to the South African Bishops in 1952, "have not yet reached a stage of development that would justify their integration into a homogenous society with the Europeans", to preserve their

culture and traditions in homelands of their own. But such a policy, sincerely and justly pursued, will call for heavy European sacrifices. The late Archbishop Whelan of Bloemfontein was not always in step with his brethren but he held that "a state composed of a number of national or racial groups, maintained in their separate and distinct identity by the State of which they form a part" would conform with what Pope John had to say in *Peace on Earth* about the rights of national minorities in a pluralistic state.

A Rich Prize

Vorster and his predecessors, Ian Smith and his predecessors and Salazar (who now remembers *his* predecessors?) stand side by side in the dock of world opinion. South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal pursue entirely different racial policies. Even if all three were perfect, Southern Africa would still be the object of international interference. If South Africa were to adopt over-night a policy of racial integration it would still find itself under attack from the same quarters as at present.

Southern Africa is so situated as to be vital to the West, more particularly since the erection of an Arab-African air barrier against us. The very day after the news leaked that the Royal Navy was to leave Simonstown, it was from Simonstown that the Government sent a frigate to reinforce the Falkland Islands. The splendid ports of Angola, South Africa and Mozambique and the mineral wealth of Southern Africa are objectives of "wars of liberation" which the enemies of the West are resolved to instigate in accordance with doctrine common to Peking and Moscow. Southern Africa is a rich prize, and men are greedy.

Other's Misfortune

"I never knew any man in my life, who could not bear another's misfortune like a Christian."—Jonathan Swift.

INDUSTRIAL ANGLE

In this article Dr. Jackson examines the problems created by work sharing as opposed to redundancy as it effects the worker and the employer in areas where there are alternative jobs and in others, such as in Scotland, where jobs are relatively scarce. He is also sharply critical of the Government's Gilbertian measures to ensure the freeze which have gone so far as to ask employers to act in deliberate contravention of the law.

Freeze and Squeeze

J. M. JACKSON

IN my October article, I suggested that it was a mistake to try and improve our balance of payments by deflation. Deflation brings about a cut in consumption that is several times greater than the reduction it brings about in imports. After all, we still spend most of our incomes on home produced goods. Writing now just as this article appears in print, the impact of the July measures on the economy is the most important item of domestic news. The car industry has borne the brunt of the deflationary squeeze, and widespread redundancy is threatened. On the union side, there is considerable opposition to the threatened redundancies. This arises in part from a feeling that there should have been preliminary consultations with them over any redundancies, but more importantly because they would prefer the introduction of work-sharing.

The Shake-out Theory

The Government is apparently in favour of the creation of redundancy rather than work sharing. The theory is that men will be shaken out of inessential industries and become available for re-employment in export industries.

The employers are also likely to favour redundancy rather than short-time working. If, for example, a firm can choose between employing 800 men for 5 days a week or 1,000 men for 4 days, it will find the former more profitable by nearly £150. This is because employing 200 more men during the week it has to pay National Insurance contributions for these men. It will also have to pay out at the time another £250 in Selective Employment Tax, though a manufacturer will, it is true, get a subsequent rebate. Even if it is possible for men to be employed for a full week's work but to be laid off in rotation (perhaps one week in five), this may still involve some administrative difficulties for the employer.

There are strong arguments against any kind of work sharing if other jobs are available. Will the men affected really be looking for alternative employment? There must surely be a real danger that if they are employed in an industry that has a very high level of pay, they may try to cling to it, even on short-time working. Will a man want a job where pay is £16 a week when he can get four days' work in an industry offering £20 for a five-day week? So long as he can get four days' work, he is as well off as if he takes the alternative job that is available, and he may still cling to his old job even on a three-day week if he thinks the situation is only temporary.

On the whole, it is probably true to say that in the Midlands, there would normally be other jobs available for redundant workers from the car industry. Before the squeeze, the area was one of very low unemployment, with more unfilled vacancies notified to the Ministry of Labour than men out of work. Now that the squeeze is biting, and the car industry in particular is feeling the chilly winds of deflation, there will be fewer jobs available, and the unemployment level is bound to rise somewhat. We might expect a much closer balance between unfilled vacancies and the number of unemployed. We should remember, however, that the number of unfilled vacancies is normally a very unreliable figure. When an area is one of acute labour shortage, as the Midlands was, employers may not

bother to notify the Labour Exchange of a vacancy because they have little hope of finding a suitable candidate to fill it. If the shortage becomes less acute, however, employers may see more prospect of finding somebody for a job and therefore let the Ministry know of the vacancy. It may well be, then, that there are normally more jobs available in an area, especially a relatively prosperous one, than would appear from the official statistics. Men who become redundant, therefore, may have still a very good chance of finding alternative jobs. It is in the national interest that they should do so, thus increasing production rather than stay on short time in their old jobs.

The Squeeze in Scotland

The car industry is heavily dependent upon hire purchase and the tightening of hire purchase restrictions in a squeeze is bound to hit the industry hard. If there is a tight rein kept on the economy in the future, it may well be that the industry must permanently accept a lower level of demand. This will be hard enough for the older car industry centres in the Midlands. The development of car manufacture in Scotland at Bathgate (B.M.C.) and Linwood (Rootes) was thought to have brought renewed prosperity to this part of the country. Now, of course, they are feeling the pinch with the rest of the industry. With one important difference, however. In the Scottish areas hit by the decline in the demand for cars there will be far fewer alternative jobs available for men made redundant than in the Midlands.

This raises the question, therefore, of whether we should adopt the same attitude towards redundancy in the two cases. If alternative jobs are available, it is a waste of manpower to permit work sharing. But if there are no alternative openings for men made redundant, then nothing would seem to be lost by work sharing instead of making men redundant. From the employer's point of view, redundancy may still be preferable since this enables him to escape the cost of National Insurance contributions and Selective Employment Tax. There is a case, therefore, for considering whether steps ought to be taken to remove

this incentive to employers to sack men in preference to adopting short-time working.

One may also ask whether it would not be a good thing to try and ensure that in this kind of situation the brunt of the squeeze were borne by firms in areas that could offer alternative employment. This, however, is going too far. The car industry has been long established in the Midlands. Considerable pressure was applied to persuade Rootes and B.M.C. to go to Scotland and Ford to Merseyside. The firms concerned have already made a contribution towards improving the employment situation in these areas of low employment; it would be unreasonable to ask them, and the areas in which they were first established, to insulate their Scottish and Merseyside factories from all the effects of changes in demand.

Redundancy Compensation

This is not to deny that redundancy may involve some hardship to a worker, even if there is a good chance of his finding a new job in a fairly short period. There should be the longest possible notice of redundancy, not only in general terms but specifying the workers concerned. This should be done to enable the Ministry of Labour to organise special efforts to find alternative employment for the workers concerned. These could include the setting up of temporary exchanges at the factories where redundancies are occurring.

Even so, hardship may result, even if a man is placed in a new job. There is, therefore, a case for financial compensation. Some progress has been made in this direction in recent years, but much more could still be done. A man who becomes redundant after many years with a firm may receive quite generous compensation, but one who has been with a firm for only a few years will get very little. This difference may bear little relationship to differences in need. A man who has, perhaps through no fault of his own, had several jobs in a period of years will be much worse off when he becomes redundant than one who has managed to keep the same job.

Freezing Chaos

Meanwhile the ill-thought out wage freeze is producing chaos. If the crazy idea had been thought up by W. S. Gilbert for a comic opera libretto it would have been universally acclaimed as a masterpiece. As a serious piece of semi-legislation by a British government, farce turns to near tragedy.

It is, of course, easy enough to argue that a period of standstill in wages and salaries was necessary, at least as an emergency measure. I am prepared to accept the need for the freeze, even for a freeze without exceptions. I would not, for example, agree with the critics who would have liked to exempt productivity agreements. (Mainly because I am suspicious of all such agreements, which may give an unfair advantage to those guilty of the worse restrictive practices.) If the Government had had the courage to introduce legislation banning all wage increases, regardless of any agreements or contracts already made, one could have respected the logic of their action. In the event, Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act was introduced with undue haste *but only to be kept in reserve*. The government preferred a "voluntary" wage freeze. If, however, employers and employees refused to "volunteer" to be frozen they may expect to be summoned to the Ministry of Labour for Mr. Gunter to wag a stern finger at them.

Government by exhortation has been tried time and time again by governments since the war without much effect. Exhortation alone can never work however, as they should have learned after all these years. It is no use expecting people to respond to exhortation when this means that people who behave in a public spirited way find themselves falling into a worse and worse position relatively to those who ignore the government's appeals. If the government really tried to take effective action, it might well secure a wide measure of co-operation, because then those with public spirit would not suffer.

In the present situation, however, the Government has excelled itself. It has not merely asked workers and

employers to act in a particular way within the law to promote the public interest, it has gone so far as to ask employers to act *in deliberate contravention of the law*.

Agreements and Contracts

It would have been simple for the Government to have imposed a ban on all wage and salary increases *negotiated* after July 20th. Instead, it chose to ban if only by exhortation, all agreements not implemented by that date (that is, where the first payment had not already been made). Even this wider ban could be justified by a sufficiently serious crisis, *if only the Government had had enough courage to introduce legislation to this effect*.

Unions that had made agreements for pay increases before July 20th. have in many instances argued that it is now up to the employers to honour them. They will have nothing of the argument that the government has asked for a standstill. In some instances the unions have been prepared to go as far as to sue in the Courts for enforcement of the contract made. At the time of writing, the first test case has been decided and the Court has given the only ruling that could have been expected. It has ordered the employer to pay the wages he had contracted to pay.

If a person has made a contract, he will be compelled by the Courts to fulfil that contract, or else to pay damages. It is no answer that somebody else persuaded him to do so, even the government. Indeed, a person who induces another to break his contract with a third party is equally guilty in law and can also be sued for damages. Perhaps we shall yet see a union prepared to bring an action seeking an injunction against Mr. Wilson or Mr. Gunter to prevent them from taking steps to induce employers to break their contracts with their work people, and the possibility of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour being forced to stop counselling employers to act illegally or risk being jailed until such time as they have purged themselves of contempt of Court.

This is not to say that in every case a union will be able to bring a successful legal action against employers who

do not honour a collective agreement. A distinction has to be made between the collective agreement between unions and employers and the contract of employment between the individual worker and his employer. The former is not a legally binding contract that can be enforced at law. Only in certain circumstances will the agreement between unions and employers be regarded as constituting part of the contract between individual employer and worker. If, for example, there is an explicit agreement between the employer and worker that the latter shall be paid the rates agreed between the appropriate trade union and employers' association, then the matter is beyond all doubt. But in other cases, the Courts might not agree that the collective bargaining did form part of a contract of employment until it had been implemented.

Despite the threat that the decision in this first test case will drive a coach and four through the freeze, the immediate signs are that the Government will not immediately implement Part IV of the Act to make the freeze obligatory. All along, the Government has been hopelessly in the wrong on this issue. If it wanted a voluntary wage freeze, it should have exerted the maximum pressure on the trade unions. If they would not respond, it should have used compulsion, not brought pressure on employers to induce them to act illegally. But perhaps we have not yet seen the worst of this truly Gilbertian situation. Professor Wedderburn, a leading authority on this field of law, has suggested in a letter to *The Times* that there are serious inconsistencies in Part IV of the Act, even if the government chooses to implement it. This is a complex question of drafting, but it would seem that the employer is really placed on the horns of a dilemma. He may be subject to penalties if he pays more than he was paying on July 20th. when the freeze was supposed to take effect; but he is only indemnified against breaking a contract with his work people in respect of an obligation arising after the date of bringing Part IV into operation. In other words, where he has already, between July 20th. and the date of implementing Part IV, increased pay in

accordance with a contractual obligation he is in trouble whatever he does. The law requires him both to reduce pay to the pre July 20th. level and to continue paying at the post July 20th. level.

The Need for Action

By the time this article appears in print, we shall know what action, if any, the Government has taken to make the freeze effective; whether it decides to activate Part IV of the Act and whether it tries to use its compulsory powers to hold the position as at July 20th. or whether it will allow agreements made before that date to be honoured. If it takes the latter course, it has important implications for future policy. The government cannot immediately relax completely its control of wage movements. Any group that secures an advance in pay under an agreement made before July 20th. must be put firmly at the back of the queue for increases when the freeze is relaxed. It should also be made clear that all provisions for automatic increases, whether in the form of annual increases in scales of pay or cost of living adjustments should be abrogated. What is more important, however, is that in future the Government should realise that its duty is to govern, and to do so resolutely; and not to try and induce people to behave in the manner it thinks appropriate although contrary to law.

Danger of Being Bitten

"We do not quite forgive a giver. The hand that feeds us is in some danger of being bitten."—Emerson.

Is there any sort of pattern in the modern ideas of authority? Why is there so much fear today? Why is communism so attractive? Is not the office of legate a useless anachronism?

Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Is there any sort of pattern in the modern ideas of authority?

I THINK there is. There are views of authority from both above and below, and a great many of them are versions of the prevailing sentiment that authority is regrettable. That feeling in its turn comes from one source, a sense of the dignity of the human person; and that sense, finally, has sprung up spontaneously in those who have experienced a depersonalizing authority, and has been stated formally in solemn declarations by the nations and the papacy.

Authority should be for the benefit of the persons under it, aiming at their common and their personal good. It has abused its power — in totalitarian régimes, in colonialism, in industry and in government called democratic. Authority is watched as never before. It is under suspicion all the time.

That makes government and administration more difficult: but it is highly desirable that authority should walk carefully lest it tread on human rights, forgetting its auxiliary purpose. Human beings are persons, and as persons they should be treated. In certain states of life they may freely hand over the exercise of some rights to a governing body — that is done in a democratic State, in the armed forces, in trade unions and in religious orders. Authority then has its own natural power, acting freely and

not just by permission; but the subjects of authority are still persons with an unassailable and inalienable dignity.

What is now desirable is the preservation of authority, which is seriously threatened, and a sensitiveness to personal worth. Perhaps the two could be attained together by a change not of the basic realities of authority and subjection but of style — communication by humane dialogue.

What is the reason for so much *fear* in people today?

FEAR is the human response to threats which are thought to be too great to be met and turned aside. The threats are of doom or damage — death, disease, the destruction of the happiness which is everybody's desire. Because such threats are a shadow over every life, there is nobody who can be free from fear; it belongs therefore to every reasonable person to come to terms with his fears and so to remove from his life the sense of impending calamity which gnaws at his peace of mind.

Ultimately, there is only one way of attaining to serenity, and that is by confidence in God's providence: the assurance that nothing escapes God's control; that "He reaches from end to end mightily, and orders all things sweetly".

I do not know if threats are more numerous and more savage than they used to be. There is the dreadful possibility, remote perhaps but always in the background, that nuclear weapons will be used again. In this country we no longer have the Black Death, or recurring epidemics of cholera and typhus. There seem to be more ways of dying than ever before, as on the roads, and we all know about polio and cancer: but expectation of life is steadily rising. The Welfare State has removed or diminished what used to be sharp anxieties.

If fear is growing it can only be because the power and love of God are not allowed for in human calculations. Man sees himself as the conqueror of inner and outer space; but all he does, if he is without God, is thicken the material crust which envelops and oppresses him. Whatever

man may conquer, his death awaits him; and only Christ can overcome death.

Why does communism seem to have such power of attraction?

IT is impossible, I think, to measure the extent of communist attractiveness. Displays of enthusiasm for communist régimes are evidence of the Party's ability to organize demonstrations, but they give no clue to the willingness or unwillingness of participants. The intensity of the attractiveness is, however, proved by the dedication of Party members to Marxist theory and the activities undertaken in accordance with it. They accept the hardship of a long training, and they follow the detailed guidance of their leaders, and they are always on duty.

The appeal of communism is many-sided. It faces facts—the revolting facts of injustice and human degradation—proposes a remedy for them, and begins at once to apply the remedy. Often it is first in the field with a denunciation of wickedness and a practical proposal. Engels described the inhuman conditions in the Manchester slums long before the social Encyclicals appeared; and the Encyclicals, late though they were, could only state moral principles and exhort everyone to live by them. The communists have theories by the volume, but they include theories about direct and immediate action.

Communists also know all the answers. In that they are like ourselves, with this difference that the answers indicate the next step towards the millenium — the triumph of the proletariat and the classless society. The millenium itself is one of the main attractions in communism. Religion cannot offer a conclusion in time and is wide open to the charge that it has nothing to offer but pie in the sky. Communism offers success without transition to another world; and, because there is no God, it makes success depend on man alone. Man has to be his own saviour, and is put on his mettle. He is gratified by being responsible for himself and in control of his own future.

All that underlines the need of full participation by Christians in society.

IT is not an anachronism at all. It has changed with the times, and it is as modern as the papacy. Far from being useless it is invaluable both in the work it does for the papacy and the Church and as training for the legates themselves.

A legate is a representative of the Pope, sometimes for a special ceremony, sometimes with the status of a minister or ambassador. It is obvious that the Pope cannot go to all the eucharistic congresses and centenaries to which he is invited: and the political importance of the Catholic Church makes it advisable for the papacy to have diplomatic exchange with a great many countries. Courtesy requires that a high dignitary be sent in the Pope's place and diplomatic usage wants as ambassador a special emissary and not, say, the local cardinal. In any case, papal communications would be so often at an international level that someone free from local ties would be needed to make them.

The kind of experience the legates gain stands them in good stead if they become Pope. Pius XII and John XXIII are good modern examples.

I can't see what objection you have to legates unless you are regretting papal implication in politics, alliances and even wars. Those days, thank God, are over. The suggestion of temporal power in the use of legates is not true to the facts, especially if they forget the unhappy title "Prince of the Church". If, as far as is consistent with their official duties, they live with an apostolic simplicity, they are representatives of Christ, and such a person is never an anachronism.

Will dialogue in charity alone lead to conversion of heart and thus to the Catholic Church ?

THAT can't be the opinion of the authorities who have for many years been guiding research into the background, historical and doctrinal, of Christian conflicts and estrangements. A notable number of Catholic students, mostly priests and nuns, are studying in Protestant seminaries and universities; and in Catholic seats of

learning study of Protestant theology is much more receptive than formerly.

Sympathetic study of that kind could be taken as part of the "dialogue in charity", since charity should try to understand the mind and heart of the "thou" of dialogue. It has this, also, of charity in it, that it is more honest than a deliberate blindness to radical differences. Some kinds of dialogue seem to be based on the mistaken judgment that if only we are kind and pleasant to one another we shall find that we all believe and propound the same truths, though in different words. No doubt, when we have a thorough knowledge of the terminology of the other side we shall find some agreements which we thought were contradictions; but we shall also be confirmed in our knowledge that we are dealing with the successors of those who left the Church over a flat denial of essential doctrine.

Charity cannot be too much recommended, provided we remember that honesty is part of it. Otherwise a seeming charity could do harm. There is strong support for the opinion that the cult of ecumenism has made conversion to Catholicism unnecessary: non-Catholics need no longer go to the Church for the full truth — the truth will come to them, accommodating itself to their minds and practices. The warnings of the Protestant Alliance may be aggressive and uncompromising; but they are healthier than dialogue which is gentle on the surface and flabby underneath.

Isn't it time the English ventured to be imprudent?

ARE you suggesting that the English are like their plum pudding, solid, heavy and dull; or like some average performer in any field, hopeless of victory and terrified of defeat; or like stodgy imitators, taking their style from the dictators of fashion?

I think you are being too hard on the poor English. Leaving aside secular matters and considering only religion, you have to take history into account and allow that English Catholics have been forced on the defensive since the Reformation, and have had to fight for survival.

They have been short of money all the time; and nuns and clergy have been worked to death. The "imprudence" you crave has to be prepared for with a long stretch of security. Spectacular dives are not made from sea-level but from a high springboard, and adventurous Catholic life must take off from a high level of thinking and learning, for which the English with rare exceptions have lacked opportunity. Having to let others do their thinking for them, they have depended on the safest continental masters. They are determinedly orthodox with an orthodoxy that has lost some of its dynamism in transit. It is not the fault of the English that they can as yet contribute no catholic, universal, school to the education in the Church.

Imprudence of the sort you have in mind is all very well; but it would be a pity if it were thought desirable in itself and led to the imprudence of considering anything startlingly new as an improvement on the safe and familiar. The value of an avant-garde is not just in being separated from the main body but in scouting ahead along the route the main body should take. Imprudence of that kind needs an extra measure of prudence.

Why do people have to make noise — in church, for example?

THEY are insensitive, because of bad upbringing. Sound is the presentation of outside reality to the mind through the sense of hearing. It conveys the spoken word and its meaning, and music of all kinds. Noise is sound which is ugly or excessive or out of place. Some of it is unavoidable, as from railways and roads, construction sites and factories. There is so much noise to be endured that every effort should be made to avoid unnecessary noise. We should all be brought up to consider mere noise an affliction. It is disturbing to the mind. It can deprive us of the quiet without which we cannot fully possess ourselves.

We cannot choose our vocal cords, but we can learn to modulate our voices, using them with just the number of

decibels necessary for establishing the desired communication. Everybody except the culprits has had experience of the voices that carry throughout a bus. The closing of doors can also be learnt. A split second suffices to turn the handle and gently engage the catch; and that avoids a noisy slam and the distracting patter of plaster from the ceiling, and it adds pounds to the secondhand value of cars. Coughs sometimes are nothing but a nervous habit affecting the nerves of hearers. Rosary-rattling and other such accompaniments of devotion, when they are not exhibitionism, are a careless intrusion into the privacy of others.

The experimental and enthusiastic noises of children should not be repressed as though they proceeded from responsible adults; but the children should be trained to a responsibility for the quiet of the world. We should all possess "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit" and check the world's progress towards pandemonium.

New Zeal for Truthfulness

"The loss of certainty of truth has ended in a new, entirely unprecedented zeal for truthfulness — as though man could afford to be a liar only so long as he was certain of the unchallengeable existence of truth and objective reality, which surely would survive and defeat all his lies."
—Hannah Arendt.

THE CHURCH AT WORK

With millions starving or undernourished the need for *radical* change, or bloodless revolution, is obvious. But with the revolution there usually follows a period of very slow progress when money, materials, and skills of every kind are in short supply. This is the time when the attraction of Communism is greatest. But there is another way, the way of Christian social revolution.

Love in Action: 1

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

T. VAN DEN DRIES

THE word "revolution" is not popular in some circles. People think immediately of bloodshed and violence. True enough, revolutionaries have often used violence and bloodshed. But the word itself does not mean violence. It means *radical* change. That is why we prefer the word "revolution" to the word "reform", which does not mean radical change. Yet, radical change is needed: half measures will not satisfy. The present social order is considered by millions to be very unjust. In spite of the very great wealth of the world, millions of people are still starving or, at least, undernourished. Statistics provided by UNO and other agencies leave no doubt about it. The reality of starving and undernourished millions is so stark that many advocate a reduction in the birth rate. But others point out, quite rightly, that the world can and does provide enough food for millions more, provided the food is better distributed and better methods of agriculture are used. Indeed, a rather small percentage of the world's population lives in great luxury whilst a much larger percentage belongs to the have-not's, as we call them. And this gap between the few rich and the

many poor will tend to grow wider unless we bring about a social revolution or radical change. Our object must be to narrow, not widen the gap between them.

Two Stages

Whether we like it or not, in the new countries of Asia and Africa where most of the poor and needy live, this social revolution is already taking place. It usually follows closely behind the national struggle for independence. Every new emergent country has to go through two stages. The first stage is the struggle for political independence when the fight is against the colonial power. This part of the battle is won when the country gains independence. Whilst this battle is on, the leaders of the independence movement promise the people better jobs, better houses, better wages, better schools, roads, hospitals and so on. Where they are not promised, they are at least, expected by the people. This first stage is well known to all. It ends with national independence, which is won as a rule without much violence and bloodshed.

After independence, there comes the second stage, which we call the social revolution. It usually begins soon after the winning of political independence. Why should it take place? The answer is very simple. When a country becomes politically independent, the people do not get overnight better jobs, better houses, better wages, better schools and hospitals. To provide all these things takes time and lots of money, so that often taxes have to be *increased* when a country becomes independent and people have to work *more* rather than less. At the same time, many social inequalities and injustices still remain: they cannot be removed overnight. So, there are still rich people and poor people; people with jobs and many without them. There is still famine from time to time and so on. At the same time, the people will demand that their leaders fulfil the promises made to them before independence or give them the things they thought they were going to receive during that time. The leaders, therefore, will seek for solutions which will bring about these social improvements as quickly as possible.

The Communists Come In

Social services run voluntarily by the people are not much favoured by African national leaders: the same goes for social improvements of most kinds. They all seem to favour social reform run and managed by government. African national leaders favour this idea because they think that social reform started and managed by government brings results at a quicker pace than when it is in the hands of private individuals. In the case of the developing countries there is a good deal of truth in this. The best way very often is for governments to start and encourage movements of social reform and then gradually to give them over to voluntary organizations to run them. The trouble is that most governments in Africa—like some also in Europe—do not do this. Having started the business of social reform, they want to run it as well, to take the whole business into their own hands from start to finish. It is when they are thinking about doing this that they may find Communist ideas very attractive. They will be helped to think them attractive and to put them into practice by young Africans who have been trained in Moscow in Communist ways or who are being trained there now. The time after independence, when African governments are thinking of the need for quick social reform, is the time of the Communist in Africa. Mr. Krushchev has said that, at such a moment, the new African countries will receive Communist help. He has told his followers in those countries to make out that they are friends of the national movement even before independence has been won: he has told them also not to try and capture the leadership of this movement before independence. They are to wait until after independence, when the need for the social revolution is felt throughout the country and the government knows it must do something for the people. This is the time for the Communists to infiltrate and finally gain control over the now independent country. The first thing to do is to make propaganda for the Communist "solution" of the country's problems, though it will not, of course, be called a

Communist solution. The country's national leaders, who won independence, will be led to think that it is their own solution; but the Communists will be behind all the time, even though the people—and sometimes the national leaders themselves—do not see they are there.

The Communist "Solution"

The Communist "solution" is very simple. It means putting the people and all they have into the hands of government leaders, who can then do with them just what they want. They are made to do what their government masters want, to fit into their plans in the same way that slaves in olden days were made to fit into their masters' plans. The Communist "solution" is very simple and very brutal; it is to run a country in just the same way that you run a prison or a slave camp—by ordering people about all day long. Before this can be done, people have to be put into the power of government, which means that their own power of resistance to government plans has to be broken. This is done in the following ways. All political parties are disbanded except the ruling party, whether it is called "Communist" or not. Free trade unions are not allowed. Only government trade unions are allowed to run as instruments of the ruling party. The army very often is replaced by a people's militia, entirely dependent on government and owing everything to it. Industries, land, very often, and schools are nationalized. All voluntary organizations are closely restricted and sometimes abolished as contrary to the people's interests, which the government claims it *alone* represents. Social reform and social services are placed under the complete control of government. Very heavy taxes are placed on all. This is the sort of "solution" which Communists put into the minds of national leaders after independence though, very often, it is not called openly a Communist solution and, very often, the national leaders do not realize that, when they take it up, they are taking up a Communist "solution". It seems to be a simple solution and an effective one. That is why some take it up. They are men in a hurry and they want to get something done. It enables them to

consolidate their own political power by sweeping away the opposition of all rival parties. They are enabled quickly—by taking from some and giving to others—to fulfil the hopes of youth, the poor and the needy and therefore, to receive strong support from them. These now get better standards than they had before. They know they get them from their government. So, they are won over to its side. Having the support of the young and the masses, the national leader now has absolute power. He can do what he likes without fear that he will be deposed and with the certainty that the young students and the mass of the people will now follow him. All they have they now owe to him and his government, which is supported openly or secretly — probably secretly — by Communists in the country.

Example of Cuba

Let us now show by an example how each national revolution or struggle is followed by a social revolution and that the Communist “solution” of social problems—as we have described it above—is favoured by some national leaders.

Our example is that of Cuba. It is a fact that the national revolution of Fidel Castro was at first free from Communist inspiration and without Communist support from abroad. In fact, Fidel Castro was at first against Communism. In the early days of his revolution he received much support from the Catholic Church in Cuba and from the Catholic population of the island. The Church bells rang to welcome Castro when he marched into Havana at the head of his victorious soldiers. Two years before his victory he said, “I am no Communist and my movement has nothing in common with Communism”. After his victory in 1959 he said, “Capitalism kills people with hunger; Communism takes away their liberties which are so dear to them; that is why we are in favour of neither of these two systems”. Castro claimed to be a Christian radical. He was not deceiving or telling lies when he made this claim. He meant what he said at that time. Neither was he driven into the Communist camp by

American hostility. As a matter of fact the Americans were willing to help him. Castro rebuffed their offers of help.

Castro chose the Communist "solution" deliberately and freely. Why did he do so? Because after his victory, he was confronted with the need for a quick solution to his country's social problems. He had to fulfil the many promises he had made to the poor and the needy. How could he do this? His friends offered him solutions. So did the Communists; and theirs seemed to him best because it offered the best hope of getting things done. By doing as the Communists suggested, he rid himself of opposition parties, periodic elections, independent trade unions and other voluntary organisations which might serve as resistance points against himself and his plans. He need no longer fear that he might be deposed in elections or that strikes would occur. By doing away with the regular army—or stripping it of most of its power—and replacing it with a people's militia he need no longer live in fear of an army revolt. Freed of these fears, he would have time to complete his revolution in the social field. The land would be divided amongst the landless, houses would be built for the workers and so on. To do this, others would be stripped of all they had. In this way he would gain power over the people and they would do his will. The masses would worship him and guarantee his personal power. Thus, he would push through his social revolution. At the end of it, however, the people would be his slaves. Whether Castro saw this or not, this is what has happened in Cuba. The masses have received bread in return for their freedom; but man does not live by bread alone. The choice should never be bread or freedom. Man has a right to both: this is what Communism never gives him. It always ends up by making man a slave.

A Christian Social Revolution

It is the duty of Christians and of all men of good will to put forward ideas which will allow the second (social) revolution to go forward in such a way that the standard

of living of the people will be raised, but not at the expense of their personal freedom. The struggle for material improvement must not make them slaves. At the end of the social revolution, they should have a higher standard of living and still remain free men. What is needed is a Christian social revolution. This must aim at getting rid of existing social injustices. It must provide all citizens with the means of raising their standard of living in freedom and dignity. They must be enabled to choose their own way forward through life as responsible men and women, not as the slaves of any Communist system. Freedom by itself is not enough. Neither is a good material standard of living by itself enough. What the Christian revolution must bring about is a higher standard of living for the people worked for in freedom and brought about freely by the people themselves. Remember, this Christian revolution must be radical. Radical means going down to the roots. Healing the sick, for example, is very good indeed. But hospitals are not a radical solution. We can and we must prevent much of the sickness there is by better houses, better diet, better water supply and so on.

Words not Enough

We must also remember that words alone will not bring about this social revolution. Only hard *work* will bring it about. Words and talk will not make any lasting appeal. Only deeds speak for themselves. The peoples of Africa will follow those who bring about better conditions of life, especially in the rural areas, which have been badly neglected. Some may say that things like land consolidation (as in Kenya), improving the water supply, establishing homecraft centres, etc., are the work of government. Many Africans believe that their governments are meant to do all these things for them, whilst they remain standing around and getting impatient at the slow progress made. But, if they leave everything to government in this way, they will become the slaves of government. This means that, though their countries are independent, they themselves will not be free. Their laziness will have made them slaves. What the people must realise is that they

must carry out social improvements themselves. Government must encourage them to carry out schemes of self-help in their villages and elsewhere. Government must encourage and the people must be responsible for carrying the schemes through. In this way, material progress will be made and the people will remain free. What is needed is self-help. The governments of newly independent countries in Africa must encourage and help their citizens to help themselves. That is the way they must go forward. Self-help is the answer to the problems which have to be overcome by a second (social) revolution.

The basis of all self-help is the savings of the people, not gifts or loans. If we rely on these it is no longer self-help; neither do the people become self-supporting and self-reliant. They live, instead, by alms; and a man who lives by alms is not a free man. He is dependent on the government or rich man who gives him the alms and has to do as they say. People as a whole in Africa are not yet used to saving. Some, it is true, put money in a savings bank, but such money does nothing whilst it is lying there. The Credit Union, however, not only enables people to save, it enables the money which is saved to be used by those of the community who need it. People of the same district, for example, the same village, or group (like teachers) save each week a small amount of money which they put into the Credit Union. It remains their own money; they do not give it away. They get paid a small rate of interest on the money they put in. Being members of the Credit Union, they can borrow from the savings of the other members of the Credit Union up to a certain amount. If, for example, they have put in 100s. they can borrow 200s. for a small rate of interest. In this way, the members of a Credit Union help each other by lending to each other money that is needed by some to meet emergencies at times when the others do not need it. In any group, there are always some who need to borrow money at times when most members of the group do not need to do so. The sensible thing is for all members of the group to put money aside to be used for this purpose. Then, each member of the group can say, *When I need to*

borrow money I will be able to borrow from the other members of the group. In return, I will let them use my savings in the same way when I do not need them. Since the members of the Credit Union will not all have the same needs at the same time, some are always able to be helped by the others. The Credit Union is a wonderful example of self-help.

Credit Unions and Co-operation

Credit Unions do more than help people to help each other through mutual borrowing and lending. That is a wonderful service, but it leads, as a rule, to something else. After a time—maybe a year or two—the members of the Credit Union find themselves trusting and relying on each other. They also find that the savings of the group are getting bigger and bigger. They have more than enough savings to meet the needs of members who have to borrow money from time to time for such things as sickness, bride price, a new bicycle, an improved house and so on. They see now that part of the savings of the group could be used by the group to buy, say, a lorry for taking their cash crops to market; and, on the way back, it could bring with it seed, cloth and general stores, which could be bought wholesale and sold to the members of the Credit Union at far less than the price they have to pay the middleman or merchant. Thus, the members of the Credit Union would be living more cheaply, paying less for what they buy, and able to use the money they do not spend to buy more or increase their savings. Many Credit Unions have done this. For them, the co-operative comes a year or two after the Credit Union has been formed.

But there is still more that can be done. There are improvements in the village itself that can be carried out by the group as a whole and with the savings of the group as a whole. It may be an improved water supply that is wanted, better houses, a community centre, a dispensary and so on. These have to be built and, for the building, some skilled workers are required. They now have opportunities of employment. As, through the Credit Union, the people raise up their standard of living a demand is set up for the services of skilled workers. These are needed

in increasing numbers. What does this mean? That young men, who would otherwise be unemployed, now have jobs. Having jobs, they are paid wages. Having wages, they save some part of their wages and spend the rest on what they need. What does this mean? More people are given employment to provide the things these new workers need—and so on and so on. The secret of all this progress is *mutual saving on a self-help basis through the Credit Union*. This is the way of the Christian Social Revolution.

Foreign Policy and Democracy

“Foreign policy demands scarcely any of those qualities which are peculiar to a democracy; on the contrary it calls for the perfect use of almost all those qualities in which a democracy is deficient. Democracy is favourable to the increase of the internal resources of a state, it diffuses wealth and comfort, and fortifies the respect for law in all classes of society, but it can only with great difficulty regulate the details of an important undertaking, persevere in a fixed design, and work out its measures with secrecy or await the consequences with patience. These are qualities which are more characteristic of an individual or an aristocracy.”—Tocqueville.

Book Review

LAND WITHOUT LOVE

Against the World by Douglas Brown; Collins, 30s.

I REMEMBER talking with a South African journalist based on London just after his country had left the Commonwealth. He was an English-speaker. I told him of my sorrow. Our conversation turned to apartheid, a system we both detested. What would change it, I asked. In the end, he said, only one thing; the Afrikaner's basic sense of justice. He was not, the journalist told me, an evil man. He was a puzzled man, defending his homeland. When the price struck him as too heavy in terms of human rights, he would begin to question the system he had erected for the maintenance of white supremacy. But *he* would have to question the system himself. The cure would have to come from within. Shouting from outside would not help. Quiet but firm disapproval would.

Douglas Brown's most perceptive study of the South African situation could be taken, very fairly I think, as an endorsement of that opinion. There is a brilliant little passage right in the closing pages of his book which sums it all up: "When European liberals, with the glint of battle in their eye but at the safe distance of six thousand miles, propose economic sanctions against apartheid and ask 'How long can South Africa exist without oil?' they are talking the wrong language. What they should be asking is: 'How long can South Africa exist without love?' — and then extend the question to their country, the world and themselves".

This is it. And, already, the questioning has begun where it must begin, in the Dutch Reformed Church, the citadel of Afrikanerdom. Its delegates were partners to the remarkable series of resolutions that came out of the Cottesloe Conference at the end of December, 1960. This followed the Sharpeville shooting in answer to a challenge made to the Church of South Africa by the then Anglican Archbishop of Capetown, Dr. Joost de Blank. The

resolutions are extraordinary when viewed in the context of contemporary South Africa. They are worth quoting in the form of the series of affirmations in which they were published. This is how they ran:

that no one who believed in Jesus Christ should be excluded from any church on the grounds of his colour or race;

that there was need for more effective consultation between the Government and the leaders accepted by the non-white people;

that no Scriptural grounds existed for the prohibition of mixed marriages (between races), although certain social and cultural factors might make such marriages undesirable;

that migrant labour had disintegrating effects on Bantu family life and should be condemned;

that the wages received by the vast majority of non-whites obliged them to exist well below the generally accepted minimum standard for healthy living;

that job reservation must give way to a more equitable system;

that the right to own land where one was domiciled and to participate in the government of the country was part of the dignity of all adult men;

that there could be no objection in principle to the direct representation of the Coloured people in Parliament;

that in normal circumstances no one should be punished except after a fair trial in open court for previously defined offences.

These affirmations were repudiated by the Prime Minister in his New Year message, the Nationalist Press joined him in condemning the D.R.C. delegates who subscribed to them, the delegates, finally, were repudiated by their own Dutch Reformed Church. It did not matter. The damage was done. The first open breach was made in what Douglas Brown calls "the hitherto inviolable alliance between Church and Party". It has widened since. The seed of doubt has been planted. The heart-searching is going on. A little band of brave men — scattered

individuals really, — is at work in the manses, isolated and alone, looking at their souls, realising slowly that Christ cannot be divided, knowing the social ostracism that will face them when their actions proclaim, as they must one day, their growing belief. "Mustard seeds", writes Brown, "are incalculable, and never more so than when they sprout in a climate that is itself undergoing indeterminate change. Ecclesiastical thunderbolts from abroad are totally irrelevant. But we know enough already, I maintain, to nominate as the real Christian heroes of white South Africa not the men who thunder from episcopal thrones and then slip away to a pleasant life in England, nor even those who see in the racial problem a mere incident in two thousand years of God-insured Catholic history. *Quo vadis Domine?* The real heroes are those Peters in the Dutch Reformed Church who go back with Christ, ready to be crucified if that be the only way to save their Church and nation from destruction".

The wall built between black and white in South Africa is being breached in other ways as well. The country's booming economy has set up a demand for skilled labour which has outstripped the available white supply. Many a black South African has been upgraded, in consequence, equipped with new skills and provided with a status far superior to that of the hewer of wood and drawer of water, which apartheid would have him to be. Increasingly, he counts for something in the economy. Will it be economically only that he will continue to count, whatever the wishes of his white masters? And for how long will these wishes be conterminous with the philosophy of Afrikanerdom? The white immigrants coming into the country at the rate of six thousand a month are bound to dilute its philosophy eventually through sheer numbers. They will not oppose it any more than the blazered English of Natal, but they will not actively support it. Their one desire will be to make a living, but they will not see life through voortrekker eyes. The laager complex will not be there; the thought of compromise will be in their minds. About them, at a crunch and provided outsiders stop

shouting, there will not be much stomach for a last stand. Dilution will do its work if only we allow it to.

The rising prosperity of South Africa will take the guts out of basskaap in even subtler ways. After all, the philosophy it springs from is essentially that of the veld and the volk. It was born in the wide spaces, linked with a struggle for survival against savage hordes and the forces of nature. In the Afrikaner mind it was, once again, Moses and the Israelites in the desert. But now the trek has ended. This is the point; and no man can live in a laager all his life. The shouts from outside tend, of course, to prolong the inclination of some to do that; but, even so, the Afrikaner knows the shouting to be ineffective. What has he to fear from the vapourings of Canon Collins, the unwashed, embannered beats in Trafalgar Square, the threats of the Pan-Africans or the resolutions of UNO. For him, they add up to no more than so many tales told by a pack of village idiots, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing at all. His judgment here is right.

The fact remains that he really is at the end of the road. The wagons have reached a final halt. He cannot live forever with his rifle thrust through the spokes of a wagon wheel, pointing at an imaginary foe. The moving frontier has gone, the loneliness of the view a thing of the past, the traveller's day is done. Not too surprisingly, a move in reverse has begun. The Afrikaner is moving towards the cities. The veld is being left behind. A new generation of young Boers is going into business and finance, choosing commerce and its ways in place of the stark values of the lost frontier. That used to mark the limit of a veld which was the home of a volk. It was there that the black race was made subject and kept "in its place". This is where basskaap was born. It was never the same with business. That has never known frontiers.

To sum up, there are three softeners of contemporary South African attitudes — conscience, the boom, and immigration; above all, conscience and, in particular, that of the Dutch Reformed Church. Meanwhile, the land

remains, lonely and lovely in its sweep; still without love. The best thing is to let it remain: love it and pray for its white people that they may be helped to decide in a way that is right; for its black that, despite ceaseless harassment, they may find strength not in violence, but in remembrance of their dignity, which is from God, which no man can ever take from them; for those who scream abuse at South Africa from outside its frontiers, that they may be saved one day soon from the hypocrisy which underlies the selective moralizing that disfigures their councils.

Douglas Brown deserves the thanks of all men of good will for this quite remarkable book.

Paul Crane, S.J.

Beasts of Prey

Ninety-nine men in a hundred are natural men, that is, beasts of prey; and it is mere insanity, in business matters, to deal with a stranger upon any other assumption than that he is a natural man, though we should veil our knowledge of the actual fact by a courteous recognition in words and manners of his better possibilities. No one ought to be disappointed or angry at finding a man to be what good sense was bound to expect him to be. We should rather wonder and give great thanks to God whenever we come across His greatest miracle, a supernatural, or honest and just man."—From *The Rod, the Root, and the Flower*, Coventry Patmore.

READERS WRITE IN

Today I have just received June's issue of *Christian Order* and as it is right if one appreciates something to say so I am writing to let you know that month by month I look forward to reading it as soon as it arrives. Quite honestly of all the publications I receive from Europe it is usually the one I read immediately and use the most in talks and my classes to students.—Priest Professor in India.

Christian Order is the magazine giving guidance and help in this chaotic world. And it is needed in Ireland! I shall recommend it strongly whenever I get an opportunity.—Co. Kerry.

May I say how much I look forward to receiving *Christian Order* each month and I read it through.—Australia.

Just a word to congratulate you and your staff on the excellence of *Christian Order*. Several of our Fathers here read it and find it most helpful.—Northern Seminary.

You are to be complimented on the excellence of this publication. Ideal for senior pupils—gives them something to sink their teeth into at Religious Instruction.—Teaching Brother in Rhodesia.

I am sorry to say that this mighty atom of a publication came to my notice only in December, 1960.—Co. Tipperary.

This is the first 'fan' letter I have ever written, but I thought I must write to congratulate you.—Lancashire priest.

Six months ago a friend of mine paid a year's subscription to *Christian Order* on my behalf. Do you mind if I now write to tell you that I greatly appreciate your magazine? I am intensely interested in all the subjects it embraces and appreciate the frank manner in which the articles are written and the hard hitting which is done when necessary.—West Country.

ANTHONY BULLEN **GROWING IN CHRIST**

An Approach to Catechetics for Juniors

This book consists of ten discussion papers, to be used by a group of teachers together, which provide an approach to the new catechetics with this age group. Lists or supplementary reading, advice concerning the audio and visual aids which are available, and an outline syllabus covering the four year junior school course add enormously to the usefulness of the discussions.

By the author of **FIRST STEPS TO THE FATHER** (3/6) an approach to Modern Catechetics for Infants. 7/6

VAN CASTER **GOD'S WORD TODAY**

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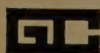
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